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Brezhnev Doctrine called into question in Belgrade

Frankfurter Rundschau

Leonid Brezhnev's four-day stay in Belgrade ended in as unusual a manner as it had begun. Not only the protocol confusion but also the course of the talks and the final joint Yogoslav-Soviet declaration make it once and for *all out of the question to talk merely in* terms of an unofficial friendly visit as the Soviet leader's Balkan tour was originally dated.

The Yugoslavs initially set great store by billing President Tito as head of state rather than as Party leader, so relegating the talks to the level of an international encounter. Moscow had further-reaching ideas from the start.

Even though General Secretary Brezhnev is formally hardly entitled to conclude *agreements* on his country's behalf the astonished general public has been presented with a document unparallelled in its dual nature as a government and Party directive.

At one moment there is talk of the Party, at the next of the State and the Belgrade declaration is destined to be the subject of conjecture in any *number of* respects.

Already both sides can be seen to emphasise the aspects that put their own positions and views in the best light.

Moscow and Belgrade are agreed on intensifying and improving future co-operation but whereas the Russians stress this fact alone the Yugoslavs are taking pains to emphasise the basic on which cooperation is to function.

References in the latest *declaration to* the Belgrade and Moscow declarations of 1955 and 1956, which codify the principles of equality and independence and the right of each country to decide on its own road to socialism, are more than a little confused by the acknowledgement of the legality of various "methods of constructing socialism" while the principles of independence, equality, sovereignty and non-intervention, all of which *are more significant in international* law, are not given a single mention.

Over and above the continual emphasis on common ideological and social targets observers of the Yugoslav scene cannot fail to be surprised by the brevity and one-sidedness with which the policy of non-alignment, writ large by Belgrade for decades, is dealt in the declaration.

The Soviet side was only prepared to approve of the anti-imperialist orientation of non-alignment and did not otherwise have a good word to say for the Yugoslav policy.

It almost looks as though the Soviet friendship pacts with Egypt and India have broken the back of non-alignment as an international policy.

Against this background the dispute as *to whether the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine* of limited sovereignty still holds good or indeed applies at all to Yugoslavia would seem to be less topical.

Despite the various interpretations that have been made on this score since 1968 it has always been clear that the problem of the Soviet Union's right to intervene is a practical matter of Soviet great power politics rather than a Marxist theory precisely determining the degree of de*viation from ideological norms sufficient* to occasion marching orders for the Soviet armed forces.

Mr Brezhnev has without a doubt *fundamentally changed his political tactics* in respect of Yugoslavia. He would like to erase the blot on his escutcheon *linked with Czechoslovakia but is insisting* that the other side also show willing.

He seems prepared to pay for the concessions he has extracted from Yugoslavia by consenting to improvements in *regional cooperation in the Balkans.*

Harry Schleicher

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 September 1971)

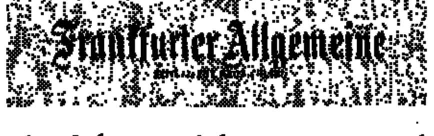
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Chancellor at union conference

Chancellor Willy Brandt (left) with Otto Brenner, leader of the metalworkers' union IG Metall, at the opening of the union's conference in Wiesbaden on 27 September. Items on the conference agenda include wages policies and workers' participation in management. (Photo: dpa)

British spy-expulsions make Russia's detente policy seem hollow



Pravda's comment on the Foreign Office's mass expulsion of Soviet agents from Britain is that the Conservatives are evidently determined to go *against the grain of history and revert to* cold war.

It is indeed hard to visualise other European governments *reacting* so *un*compromisingly in a similar situation. In the circumstances it is easy to imagine how delicately Bonn would respond to anything of the kind in this country.

The indignation Moscow musters to support its claims has a familiar ring too. There is talk of provocation, anti-Soviet *goings-on* and libellous Press untrut. *Tass* points a threatening finger at the deterioration of Anglo-Soviet relations.

*Whitehall's response to these well-*known threatening gestures is refreshingly cool. The Soviet reaction, it is noted, was only to be expcted.

Moscow has quietly ignored two warning letters from the British Foreign Secretary to his Soviet opposite number, the affair having been in the offing for *nine months.*

This sheds an interesting light on Moscow's assessment of the West's will to assert *itself in political disputes of this* kind.

It was obviously felt that Britain would eventually write off the affair on the loss side of the general detente account and forget the matter. A Soviet reaction was accordingly superfluous.

It is gratifying that Whitehall has made its point despite the attendant unpleasantness. The Kremlin will doubtless realise soon enough what a poor impression this mass of agents in Britain has created.

The importance of the political decision by Britain lies of course in its connection with the planned European security conference to which Moscow attaches such great importance and which Whitehall has now called into question.

Unless the Soviet Union is prepared to risk sacrificing its detente nimbus so painstakingly fostered it will sooner or later have to stomach the British response.

The Federal government in Bonn ought to learn the lesson too, though, and take care to ensure that the Soviet espionage centre is not merely transferred a few hundred miles further East.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 September 1971)

Salt communiqué is too optimistic

The communique issued in Helsinki to mark the end of the latest phase of Salt talks may come as something of a disappointment to a world public opinion interested in either an end to or a deceleration of the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.

It is clear that apart from an agreement on immediate consultation in the event of *a nuclear incident Washington and Mos*cow have yet to come to terms on a limitation of strategic armaments. The delegations of the two superpowers have merely succeeded in arriving at a "common basis" in certain sectors.

This modest outcome indicates that the joint communiqué issued by the United States and the Soviet Union on 20 May last sounded a rather too optimistic note.

The two governments, it was stated, *had agreed to "conclude an agreement on* limitation of the number of defensive missiles before the end of the year" and *to enter into negotiations on a limitation* in the number of offensive nuclear weapons.

The year is not yet over so there is still a chance that the delegations may yet reach agreement at the next round of talks, which are scheduled to begin on 15 November in Vienna.

The Americans and the Russians have been negotiating since November 1969. Their snail's pace is partly due to the fact that a great deal is at stake. It is a matter of maintaining the balance of power between the two major nuclear powers on whom world peace depends.

The next items on the East-West agenda *include the talks with the Warsaw Pact* on troop cuts suggested by Nato.

The Salt talks having set something of a *precedent the troop cut talks can also* be expected to take anything up to several years.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 25 September 1971)



■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bonn must now ensure that Crimea talks are of use to West's detente policy

Timing and circumstances made Chancellor Brandt's journey to the Crimea to meet Soviet Party leader Brezhnev a controversial affair, which is more, fortunately, than can be said for the outcome.

There were no sensations. What was far more useful, the visit paved the way for the next steps on the long road to detente. They were, moreover, steps that have been on the cards in international affairs for some time and have been considered not only by Moscow but also by the West.

So far the main emphasis of detente policy has been on the normalisation of relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union, of which, despite the Four-Power framework, the Berlin Agreement forms a part.

In the Crimea Brandt and Brezhnev aimed at the Europeanisation of detente policy. To this extent the meeting represents a turning-point.

The two sets of problems admittedly still overlap. Clarification of relations between Bonn and Moscow has yet to be completed. The Berlin Agreement must still be accompanied by intra-German agreements on which the GDR for the time being is proving a tricky customer.

Small wonder, then, that the communiqué notes that discussion of issues relating to the signature of the Four-Power Agreement took up much of the time spent on debate.

It would hardly have been in the interest of the matter in hand if Willy Brandt had been more to the point at the press conference held immediately on his return. He evaded a query as to whether his discussions with Leonid Brezhnev would put wind in the sails of the intra-German talks, which have run aground, by commenting that "We have not made them more difficult."

The Soviet Union, as is also apparent from the communiqué, is as interested as ever in prompt ratification of the Moscow Treaty. It has already had to wait more than a year because the Bonn Federal government has stipulated that a Berlin agreement is an essential prerequisite of ratification.

How long must General Secretary Brezhnev yet wait? Now that the Four-Power Agreement has been signed this depends to a large extent on the willingness of the GDR to negotiate.

Discussions about the Four-Power Agreement and ratification of the treaties with the Eastern Bloc as detailed as those held by Brandt and Brezhnev in Oreanda can hardly have failed to bring this point home.

Critics of the Federal government's Ostpolitik have pounced on the possibility mentioned in the communiqué of both German states gaining admission to the United Nations and given rise to the entirely mistaken impression that Brandt and Brezhnev have reached some new agreement likely to lead promptly to UN membership for both the Federal Republic and the GDR.

This represents crude speculation on the forgetfulness of public opinion in this country. The section of the communiqué dealing with the United Nations is a quotation taken word for word from the declarations of intent exchanged by the two governments during negotiation of the Moscow Treaty, declarations known in this country as the Bahr Paper after chief Bonn negotiator Egon Bahr. The formulas contained in the Bahr Paper tally in their turn with a section of the twenty-point programme proposed by Chancellor Brandt to GDR Premier Stoph in Kassel in May 1970.

All three documents contain the same expression, namely that UN entry is to take place "in the process of detente in Europe," which makes it clear that a reasonable treaty settlement of relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR must come first.

For those whose memories are a little on the short side the Chancellor took the opportunity of his press conference to expressly emphasise once again that agreements with the GDR over and above appendices to the Berlin Agreement such as are at present being negotiated must come prior to admission to the United Nations.

As regards the next stage in relaxation of tension, which increasingly promises to develop into a multilateral operation involving the West and the Eastern Bloc countries, Willy Brandt was able to assume the role of a Western scout in the Crimea.

Reconnaisance is badly enough ne[…] For long enough Moscow has dema[…] European security conference w[…] making it particularly clear what pr[…] expectations it has of such a ga[…] and what ground it is to cover.

The same is true of what ha[…] called Mr Brezhnev's Tiflis clari[…] showing readiness to consider the [..] proposal for a mutual balanced [..] reduction without going into det[…] Soviet views.

In discussing these complex issu[…] Brandt was unable, as he noted [..] press conference, to do more than [..] few hints as to Soviet intentions.

It is, for instance, not unimporta[…] know that the Soviet side too has [..] to realise that thorough preparati[…] the security conference are neces[…] practice this would amount to [..] series of preparatory conferences.

Another useful upshot was that [..] communiqué the Kremlin agreed for [..] first time in black and white to [..] participation of the United States [..] Canada.

The communiqué statement that [..] disarmament measures to be negoti[…] must be "without disadvantages for [..] concerned" also indicates that the So[…] leaders have realised that Nato will [..] on a "balanced" force reduction.

It is now up to this country's diplo[…] to make the outcome of the [..] talks in the Crimea of use to the [..] detente policy of the West.

Fritz von Glo[…]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 20 September 19[..])

Varying views on a European summit conference

President Pompidou of France started the ball rolling some weeks ago by first suggesting a Western European summit meeting of heads of state and government.

The idea was then taken up by the EEC Commission in Brussels and British Premier Edward Heath, who in a Zürich speech called for a conference of Common Market heads of state plus Britain and the three other countries whose entry bids are in the pipeline.

Now Rainer Barzel, leader of the Opposition in the Bundestag, who has urged the Common Market countries to take up Mr Heath's suggestion and hold a summit conference.

Why are they all so keen on the idea? The reasons vary. M. Pompidou's aim will doubtless have been to counteract the major role being played by this country in the Common Market and to ensure that Bonn does not assume leadership of the EEC altogether.

Suspicions of this kind arose in Paris as a result of the showing of Dr Schiller, Bonn's Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, in the EEC Council of Ministers. Despite the agreement in principle on the monetary question reached by Common Market governments these suspicions have yet to be eliminated.

The monetary crisis and the danger of a reversion to independent national policies were the reason why the Brussels Commission too proposed a European summit.

Prime Minister Heath of Britain would like his summit to discuss European foreign and defence policy too. Mr Heath thus seems to be motivated primarily by political considerations.

Purely political reasons also motivated Christian Democratic parliamentary party leader Rainer Barzel to take up Mr Heath's suggestion and advocate a European summit too.

Monetary and trade considerations thus combine with explosive political aspects that have come to the force as a result of Chancellor Brandt's further progress in *Ostpolitik* and his visit to Soviet Party leader Brezhnev on the Black Sea, a surprise visit that was not adequately discussed with this country's allies beforehand.

It will be extremely difficult to reconcile the varying views and background considerations, yet unless a prior attempt is made to do so there will be a grave danger of the European summit failing to achieve tangible results.

The free countries of Europe cannot afford a failure. It would put the clock of European integration still further back than has already been done in the wake of monetary disputes, the floating of the Mark and the more or less interventionist monetary measures undertaken by other EEC countries.

If a fresh summit is to be a success it must be thoroughly prepared. The preparations could be aided by the briefing this country proposes to give its prese[…] prospective fellow-members of the Co[…] mon Market on the purpose and outco[…] of Chancellor Brandt's visit to Gener[…] Secretary Brezhnev.

The last European summit in The Hague was, it will be recalled, a great success. It gave the process of European integration a shot in the arm and pav[…] the way for British membership of th[…] Common Market.

The heads of state and government [..] the ten pro-Common Market countries [..] Europe will have a tougher time of [..] now. Too much has happened in the meantime.

Bonn will need, at a forthcoming conference, clearly and unmistakeably [..] underline its commitment to the Co[…] munity in order to tone down suspicio[…] that this country is tending towards [..] kind of Rapallo policy of alliance wi[…] the Soviet Union.

Karl Heinrich Herchenröde

(Handelsblatt, 21 September 19[..])

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Surprises in Korea

Recent news from Panmunjom sounds unsensational, not to say uninteresting, to German and other European ears. The Red Crosses of North and South Korea have met for talks in the armistice commission barracks in no man's land on the 38th parallel.

"So what? " one could well ask. What is so surprising about that? One of the topics scheduled for discussion is the familiar one of what is known in this country as the family-join programme.

The only point that takes the observant reader by surprise is that direct postal contact between relatives — and relatives only — must first be negotiated.

He may also be surprised to note that the installation of a telephone link between the two delegations has gone over the wires as a news item.

Apart, perhaps, from the fall to Syngman Rhee and the Pueblo incident Korea has virtually disappeared from world headlines since the armistice agreement of summer 1953.

It has been forgotten that the division of Germany and maybe even of Vietnam are half-baked affairs in comparison with that of Korea.

For a quarter of a century there have been neither road nor rail links between the two Vietnams. There is no sea or air traffic, there are no telephone links, no cables, no letters, let alone parcels, millions of which have crossed the border between the two parts of Germany since the end of the war.

One has to realise the thoroughness with which links between the two halves of Korea have been severed to apppreciate how miraculous it seems that representatives of the two regimes in a country which used to be the cultural link between China and Japan have now shaken hands on the 38th parallel.

This is something they never used to do at sessions of the armistice commission in Panmunjom.

Reunification of Korea may be as much of an illusory prospect as German reunification but a first step on the road to peaceful coexistence may now have been taken.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 September 1971)

REVIEW

West Berlin would be able to live and flourish based on the Berlin Agreement

Berlin is to stay as it is. This, in a nutshell, is the upshot of the agreement reached between the ambassadors of the four Allies after seventeen months of negotiations, 33 sessions and more than 150 hours at the conference table.

The agreement may yet need to be complemented by agreement on the relevant details between the two parts of Germany and these negotiations may yet take time and cause trouble. But no one expects the agreement to come to grief at this stage.

The ambassadors have left no one in doubt as to their intention. Berlin is to be eliminated as a potenial trouble spot, complications are to be brought to an end.

The Great Powers want to end 22 years of explosive confrontation. As, however, the determination to pursue a confrontation policy and fan the flames of crisis has been apparent on the one side only for an entire generation the Berlin Agreement of 23 August means nothing more nor less than that the Communists are to abandon their attempts to storm West Berlin and sever its links with the Federal Republic.

At long last Stalin's blockade of 1948 and 1949 and Khrushchev's policy of issuing ultimatums, which lasted from 1958 to 1962, is past history. The same goes for Walter Ulbricht's efforts to ease West Berlin out of its Western orientation by means of continual threats, pinpricks and chicanery.

The *Soviet Union* has had to abandon its aim of transforming West Berlin into a "free city". The GDR has had to give up its plan to relegate it to the position of an "independent political unit", a kind of third German state in mid-air and without links with the Federal Republic.

This must, in all fairness, be said. It is the truth. At the same time it would be inadvisable to crow with delight. Perhaps the best policy would be to cast the outcome of the Berlin talks in a positive light and say that common sense has prevailed.

The Soviet Union too has bowed to common sense and persuaded the GDR leaders to follow suit. They would doubtless not have done so had not this country's Western allies stuck to their guns where toughness was called for and for this the Americans, French and British deserve lasting thanks.

But the Soviet Union would not have come to terms either had not Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* infused them with the certainty that Bonn nowadays is a reliable partner in a policy of common sense.

Brandt's assumption

On the other hand Willy Brandt's feeling that the signing of the Moscow Treaty would fertilise and facilitate the Allied talks on Berlin has also proved correct.

The impression the Chancellor brought back with him a year ago from the Kremlin that a Berlin settlement was a possibility and one of the Kremlin's targets too has been borne out.

The Four-Power Agreement is a superb success for the policy of making ratification of the Moscow Treaty dependent on a Berlin agreement.

One specific result of this stipulation is that the settlement originally aimed at by the Western powers, an agreement limited to questions of access, was extended to include West Berlin's links with the Federal Republic.

Safeguards for this fundamentally German interest over and above Allied rights have been a direct consequence of the treaties between Bonn and Eastern Bloc countries.

The aim of these treaties was to show the world that the Federal Republic no longer wants to be a mischief-maker and that it is prepared to acknowledge the realities that have arisen since the Second World War in Europe until such time as a final peace settlement is reached — and even if one never is reached.

The East was to match this readiness on Bonn's part by confirming such realities as are particularly important for this country, particularly in Berlin, — the "existing real situation", to use the wording of the Bahr Paper.

Whatever judgments and prejudices may now be fielded by critics of the new *Ostpolitik* this transaction has achieved results. Both the Western Allies and the Federal government are certainly highly satisfied by the outcome of the talks.

Without the slightest hesitation US ambassador Kenneth Rush declared that when the wording of the agreement was published all Germans including the people of Berlin would welcome it as an improvement of the situation.

Not one of the Allied or Federal government diplomats intimately concerned with the treaty draft has so far begged to differ on this score.

One may, of course, argue that the agreement as it now stands is not ideal. Berlin will indeed remain divided, the Wall will still stand and GDR border guards will continue to shoot at would-be refugees trying to cross the frontier to the West.

But measured by the yardstick of what was within the realms of possibility the West has achieved improvements that no one would have felt conceivable a year ago.

Balance of concessions favourable

The East has made more concessions and the West fewer than even optimists in this country dared to hope. The present settlement is tolerable and a good deal better than the previous state of affairs.

1. The Allies base their agreement expressly on Four-Power responsibilities and the rights that are theirs on the basis of the agreements concluded in 1944 and 1945 — rights Moscow tried unilaterally to forgo in 1958.

2. For the first time since the end of the war the legally unclarified status of civilian traffic to and from West Berlin has been settled within the framework of a Four-Power agreement.

The Soviet Union is to share responsibility for ensuring that traffic passes without let or hindrance. After consultation and in agreement with the GDR it has stated that through traffic will be facilitated and given preferential treatment. Processing will be the simplest, swiftest and most preferential in international practice.

Goods vehicles will be sealed before crossing the frontier and only the seals and way bills will be checked.

Individuals will merely have their ID cards checked and be allowed to pass without delay. Vehicles, luggage and the persons of travellers are only to be subject to customs inspection in exceptional cases in which their belongings do not tally with the declared purpose of their journey and seem likely to cause a public nuisance in the GDR.

As regards these special instances joint criteria and procedures have yet to be agreed within the framework of the negotiations between Secretaries of State Egon Bahr of this country and Michael Kohl of the GDR.

Individual visa fees and road tolls are no longer to be charged. Instead lump sum payments are to be made.

3. The Western sectors' links with the Federal Republic are to be "maintained and developed" despite previous Western Allied statements to the effect that West Berlin does not form a part of the Federal Republic and is not governed by it, the relevant provisions of Basic Law and the Berlin Constitution being suspended.

These provisions are to remain in abeyance and Federal government agencies are no longer to be allowed to perform official or constitutional duties in West Berlin.

The Soviet Union has, however, accepted the interpretation that acts and duties of this kind can be taken to mean the exercise of direct power over rather than in West Berlin.

In practice, at any rate, this means no more West Berlin sessions of the Federal Electoral College, which elects the President every four years. Chancellor Kiesinger was prepared to forgo this privilege in return for a long-term entry-permit agreement for West Berliners in 1969.

There are to be no more West Berlin plenary sessions of the Bundestag and Bundesrat (the Eastern reaction to the last occasion on which full sessions were held in the old Reichstag building in 1965 was so violent that a repeat performance would in any case seem inadvisable).

There are to be no more joint parliamentary party meetings and sessions of individual Bundestag committees only when their deliberations relate to the maintenance and development of West Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic.

On the other hand everything that is not forbidden is permitted. The existing procedure of taking over Bonn legislation lock, stock and barrel remains unchanged. The Berlin offices of Federal Ministries are to be merged to form a permanent liaison office.

The name on the door will be improved even. The present Plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany, a term more usual in foreign countries if ever there was one, is to be replaced by the designation "The Berlin Plenipotentiary of the Federal Government."

Not a government official is to be transferred, not a single government agency is to quit the city.

4. After having objected vigorously to the idea for twenty years the Soviet Union is from now on to accept foreign representation of West Berlin by Bonn in precisely the form in which the Western Allies have always allowed Bonn to look after the city's interests abroad.

Bearing in mind final Allied responsibility and provided that the security and status of Berlin are not effected the Federal government may thus look after West Berlin's consular interests and conclude agreements including West Berlin and represent the interests of the Western sectors of the city in international organisations and at international conferences.

West Berlin is to take full part in the Federal Republic's international exchanges, which means, for instance, that there will be no more difficulty over West Berlin athletes.

International exhibitions can be staged by Federal organisations in the Western sectors of the city. The Soviet Union will note the fact and no longer object to present practice.

5. In future citizens of West Berlin will be able to travel to the Soviet Union (and, no doubt, to other Eastern Bloc countries) with Federal Republic passports. To be issued with a visa they must submit a passport and their West Berlin ID card as proof of domicile. In the Soviet Union they will be able to travel with either or both documents.

The passport will be issued by the West Berlin authorities. For travel to countries that insist on the proviso the passport must contain a stamp "Issued in accordance with the Four-Power Agreement of such and such." So in future every West Berliner will have a piece of Federal Republic presence in his breast pocket.

6. After years of waiting West Berliners will be able to visit East Berlin and the GDR. Their arrangements are to be "comparable" with those in force for other travellers. Details are to be negotiated between East and West Berlin but the final document is to be signed by a representative of the Federal government on the West's behalf.

7. The Soviet Union is to be allowed to open a consulate-general in West Berlin. It will be accredited with the Commanding Officer of the appropriate sector.

There will be a limit to the number of staff it is to be allowed to employ. Its activities are to be restricted to consular matters. All matters relating to the Four Powers are expressly stated to be outside its sphere of activity.

Say what you will, if the signing of the Moscow Treaty was a "prior concession" the Soviet Union has now made the counter-concession.

It may not have embraced Bonn's legal viewpoint that West Berlin is a Federal state but neither has it embraced the GDR's annexionist view that West Berlin is a "suburb of the capital of the GDR" or even an "independent political unit".

Special political unit

Berlin is to stay what it always has been: a special political unit based on the rights of the Allies as winners of the Second World War but closely linked with the Federal Republic.

The Kremlin has now acknowledged both points. This is a good deal more than has been demanded in any Western policy document issued in recent years.

Berlin has neither been sold down the river nor been sent to the gallows. Once the agreement comes into force neither its existence nor its relationship with the Federal Republic will be called into question.

No flags have been lowered, Herr Strauss. Bonn Out, Russians In? This is the result of either ignorance or infamy, Herr Springer. Concessions made to the Russians without anything in return? This is a rumour, Herr Stücklen, and time will tell.

For years Berlin has been considered the yardstick of Soviet willingness to bring about a relaxation of tension, a test case. The Soviet Union, or so it would appear, has provided proof of its good will. The ball is now in others' courts.

The Opposition in Bonn must consider how far down the dead end of rejection it is prepared to go. The GDR must choose between obstruction and fulfilling the terms in negotiating the German appendices to the Berlin Agreement.

Once everything is home and dry the Federal government too will have to come to a decision. It must then decide on the further perspectives of normalisation of relations between the two German states and, indeed, the two halves of Europe.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, 28 August 1971)

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Politicians must sort out their views on accumulation of wealth policy



The distribution of wealth in the Federal Republic is considered to be unfair. The increase in economic wealth is to be distributed more equally in future. One of the most important features in the social field during the seventies will be the accumulation of wealth by workers.

After the total collapse of 1945 the slogan *enrichissez-vous*, an unwritten law though confirmed by tax legislation, provided the greatest stimulus for an unprecedented economic growth.

Without this impetus it would not have been possible to integrate the refugees nor would real incomes have increased so rapidly. Social injustice was tolerable because of its contribution to economic growth.

But this situation has always needed and still needs correction. At first social security was placed on a new footing. Pensions reform was a great milestone as it recognised workers' claims that they were often unjustly overlooked in discussions on wealth.

After the war capital market backing attracted high-income groups because of the tax concessions involved. Out of this grew the savings encouragement schemes aimed at the general public. More and more workers have now started to save as a result.

The educational effect of the saving schemes was important when earned income allowed scope for the formation of capital as well as consumption.

The Third Wealth Accumulation Law represented a breakthrough to a broader, though still modest participation of workers in the formation of capital as its provisions have been included in a number of pay deals.

A fairer distribution of the increase of wealth has become one of the most important features of economic, social services and domestic policy in the seventies.

More effective use of savings needed

The West German economy must make more effective use of savings (which are rising faster than incomes) in financing investment as more and more investments no longer have a rapid capacity effect. The main body of investment must be switched from industry to public amenities.

Management too believes that it is necessary to attract a more widely distributed capital. Even large flourishing concerns find it difficult today to raise the capital they need from their own investments or from a small number of individuals. The amounts in question are too great.

The mood in the political sphere has changed. Large fortunes are no longer accepted without contradiction as a result of performance and productivity. The formation of wealth has become a social issue of our times.

The current catchphrase is "access to productive wealth". Behind this there lies the belief that the economic system, which has proved its worth as a factor in growth and a basis for a libertarian political order, must now be guarded against attack by distributing productive wealth more broadly and allowing society to identify itself with the system.

A broader distribution of the increase in wealth is sensible. But it could meet with difficulties where productive wealth is concerned.

If this more politically effective than economically exact term is defined as it is generally understood, namely that workers should be allowed access to their firm's own capital, the annual investment of four milliard Marks initially planned could be thwarted by the limits of the market.

Arbitrary restriction

From the economic point of view, this restriction is arbitrary. Investment financed by other people's capital is no less productive than whem the funds come from the firm's own capital.

The political problems of economic power that politicians would like to overcome while providing a fairer distribution of wealth are in today's economy less and less a result of the ownership of the means of production. A broader distribution only shifts the balance of power, it does not abolish it.

Savers already have access to productive capital via shares and investment certificates purchased with the help of savings encouragement schemes.

Ignoring ideology, the new feature of wealth formation plans is the aim of redistribution resulting from the planned ratio of one to ten between the worker's own contributions and the yield of industrial concerns.

Like any other yield, this would lead to various changes which, if prevented, would act as a brake on produ[ctive] investment.

Looking objectively at the ch[ances of] redistributing wealth, the obser[ver must] come to the unsatisfactory throu[gh indu]bitable conclusion that the most e[ffective] means of effecting a wider sp[read of] wealth and at the same time a mor[e equal] distribution of capital income i[s that] provided by savings schemes.

With the same objectivity the o[bserver] could ask whether all the ideolo[gy sur]rounding "productive wealth" do[es any]thing for the saver. Workers are [being] allowed their share of it and the S[tate is] to help them gain access.

But workers must not be [blind] against the fact that at their le[vel of] income possessions other than [owner]ship can be more valuable. In a[n age of] creeping inflation a house of one's [own is] better than rented accommodation.

When it comes to taking a po[litical] decision, these economic aspects [of] wealth formation must be given e[qual] consideration as the social. This is [pos]sible. But ideology must disappear [when] discussing certain forms of owne[rship.] Otherwise even those people who b[enefit] will be disappointed.

Gerhard Sch…

(Die Welt, 21 September 1971)

More savings accounts opened this year

Savings banks register a total of [..] million new savings accounts in [the] first half of 1971. The Savings Bank [and] Giro Association announces that its m[em]bers were operating 11.7 million acco[unts] at the end of June.

Two and a half milliard Marks [were] currently entered on customers' acco[unts,] 45 per cent more than at the sam[e time] last year. This figure does not i[nclude] bonus payments.

Eleven per cent of the savings ba[nks'] private savings accounts are now be[ing] run on the bonus scheme. The avera[ge] annual amount saved on a general savings account is at present about 800 Marks.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 September 1971)

All parties in Bonn have ideas on accumulation of wealth

An important new phase is now beginning in the accumulation of wealth policy. The government is determined to present the Bundestag by the end of the year with a Bill based on a Ministry of Labour report concerning "worker participation in the increase in economic wealth".

The law, known in short as the Wealth Participation Law should if possible come into force on 1 January 1974.

The CDU/CSU will again counter the government Bill with an idea of their own in this field. A draft of this has already been submitted to the Bundestag. The Free Democrats are still putting the finishing touches to their proposals.

The Trades Union Confederation too is still working on its "wealth plan". So far only a basis for work has been published and this can be changed at any time.

The employers have for the time being ended their considerations on wealth policy. The Friedrich Plan, once the subject of lively discussion, has been withdrawn.

The government plans that every employee earning up to 24,000 Marks a year if single, or 48,000 Marks a year should participate in the future rise of economic wealth. The annual participation will only be granted to persons contributing twenty Marks or ten per cent.

According to a basic table of calculations, employers will raise about four milliard Marks a year for those people covered by the scheme.

Planners in the Labour Ministry believe that is would be best for this money to be invested through the bank and savings bank system. A committee of employee delegates would supervise the administration of their capital.

State Secretary Herbert Ehrenberg of the Labour Ministry is one of the authors of the report and also plays a leading role in planning wealth policy in his party, the SPD.

Parliamentary State Secretary Philip Rosenthal of the Ministry of Economic Affairs has set about this task with particular eagerness.

It is expected that the special SPD party congress to be held in the near future will on the whole support the measures proposed by the Ministry of Labour.

The SPD's partner in the governing coalition in Bonn, the FDP, should have no serious objections to the Bill drawn up by the Ministry of Labour.

The party's programme commission has suggested that both private and public concerns should be committed to grant rights of participation in their increase of capital. Profits will be a relevant factor here.

Under the FDP scheme a publicly-owned body would administer the money obtained and issue participants in the scheme with certificates.

The CDU/CSU recommend a different course. They suggest that firms should introduce an obligatory participation wage for all employees, consisting of a legally prescribed sum of twenty Marks over and above what is paid in existing wage deals. This bonus would be tax-free and fixed for six years.

The CDU/CSU state that people in the Federal Republic have reacted positively to State initiatives to back the formation of property.

But their thrift has often been directed toward certain long-lasting consumer goods. Participation by employees in economic productive capital is not sufficient. There must be an element of compulsion here.

Employers do not think much of the obligatory participation wage or the Burgbacher Plan as it is also called after Fritz Burgbacher, the CDU/CSU's expert on accumulation wealth policy.

Employers associations have stated that the most sensible course would be to conclude pay deals on the basis of the 624 Mark law concerned with wealth formation.

Employer statistics show that one employee in two today receives payments toward wealth formation as part of a pay deal. Eleven million white- and blue-collar workers will take part in this savings encouragement scheme in 1971.

The Friedrich Plan has been withdr[awn] by the employers. The current presi[dent] of the employers association suggested [in] 1962 that a broader participation [in] productive capital should be linked [with] the encouragement of self-finance.

Firms strong in capital would sh[ow] more interest in their employees' accu[mu]lation of wealth. One opportunity o[f] doing this lay in interest-free payme[nts] from the firms' yield into an investme[nt] fund or a number of such funds.

The trade unions thought differen[tly.] Their wage negotiators have always dr[awn] up contracts with the employers [for] payments toward wealth formation.

The wages policy department of th[e] Trades Union Confederation (DGB) exe[cutive] announces that 9.3 million em[ployees] were covered by 150 pay deals of this type on 1 February 1971.

The DGB also wants to hasten plans fo[r] worker participation in profits at a le[vel] higher than that of the individual fi[rm.] Unlike the Ministry of Labour's rep[ort] leading trade union officials demand th[e] establishment of a number of indepen[dent,] regionally organised funds subj[ect] to State supervision.

Certificate-holders would elect de[le]gates and a delegate conference wo[uld] appoint a controlling committee th[at] would in its turn elect an executi[ve.] Trade union experts do not feel th[at] certificates should normally be sold.

But DGB leaders are still discuss[ing] these two points. The trade unions' fi[nal] decision on wealth policy is expected [by] the end of the year.

Werner Mühlbradt

(Die Welt, 21 September 1971)

GOVERNMENT

Conducted tours of Bundestag and Bundesrat arouse public interest in the democratic process

DAS PARLAMENT

In 1950, a year after the first Bundestag had settled into the former teacher training college in Bonn, nobody on the administrative staff made any provisions for visitors.

When the first timorous inquiries came a few months later from schools and other institutions wanting to attend a debate or view the main hall they were thought to be the exception rather than the rule and everything proceeded informally.

But inquiries of this type increased so much within a short period that the improvised visiting programmes had to be organised systematically. A small office was set up for this purpose and two staff members acted as guides.

It was soon found that attending a debate was such an experience for the young in particular that it encouraged them to move beyond pure theoretical education and take part in conscious political thought.

Towards the end of 1951 the then Bundestag President Hermann Ehlers decided to provide money so that groups whose finances were not so good could also come to Bonn.

Since 1949 four and a half million people have visited the Bundestag and 555,000 *have attended* debates. In 1970 *alone* some 52,000 people followed proceedings from the visitors' gallery and 122,000 went on a guided tour of the building. The average number of visitors a year lies between 180,000 and 200,000.

Booked up

Because of these numbers the Bundestag is always fully booked months in advance. People wanting to attend a debate have to wait eight to ten months.

The Bundestag Press and Information Centre, of which the visitors' service is a part, offers three different programmes for visitors:

1: A guided tour of the plenary hall on days when there are no debates with a short talk on the Bundestag's procedure.

This guided tour is suited for chance visitors who just wanted to pop in see what the Bundestag looked like. Anyone above the age of ten can take part in this twenty-minute tour.

2: Attending a debate for a maximum of one hour followed by a conversation with members of all parliamentary parties. People in this category must be at least sixteen or in their ninth school year.

Bookings for this programme have increased. Parties have to apply well in advance and the waiting period is becoming longer as nowadays there are few all-night Bundestag sessions – these were common during the first legislative period – and no groups can be accommodated for debates in the late afternoon or evening. But the visitors' service does all it can to satisfy its clients' special requests.

3: Informative visits lasting two to two and a half hours. These take place on days when the Bundestag is not in session and consist of a guided tour of the plenary session, a conversation with members or specialist talks on the function and working procedure of the Bundestag along with the showing of films and excepts from plenary sessions and television broadcasts. Once again, people on this guided tour have to be at least sixteen years old or in their ninth school year.

This programme was specially devised for schoolchildren so that seats in the visitors' gallery during debates can be taken up mainly by young people of voting age and teachers and other people belonging to the so-called multiplicator groups.

All visitors invited by the visitors' service are given a number of brochures, a snack and, in certain cases, a subsidy towards travelling costs.

The public's interest in the other legislative body, the Bundesrat or Upper House, began somewhat later. The first groups did not apply to visit it until 1952 and 1953. Since than almost half a million visitors have been there.

The problem of fitting everyone in has become as acute in the Bundestag. There is at present a six-month waiting list for people wishing to attend debates. Only guided tours can be organised at short notice.

It is difficult to satisfy the specific wishes of visitors as the Bundesrat does not meet so often as the Bundestag and there are only some fifty seats in the visitors' gallery.

But there is a very attractive programme for those who finally get to see the Bunesrat after the long waiting period. The programme varies according to whether the visitors are, firstly, schoolchildren or members of youth groups, secondly, local politicians or students and, thirdly, prominent individuals.

Schoolchildren are shown a set of slides with a twenty-minute commentary in the plenary hall of the Bundesrat. An official then answers their questions.

System discussed

There is frequent discussion then of the federalist system, the reason, many people believe, for the varying educational standards and the resultant inequality of opportunity.

The second group consists of local politicians, members of the Bonn teachers' seminar, the Haus Rissen seminar of Hamburg or foreigners whose names have been put forward by *Inter Nationes*.

It has been found in the past that this group is always well-prepared and asks loaded questions. These visitors are therefore given the opportunity of speaking with a Bundesrat official after introductory talks.

The third group consists mainly of foreign parliamentarians and journalists. Here too there is often a discussion on the federalist system as a form of government and administration.

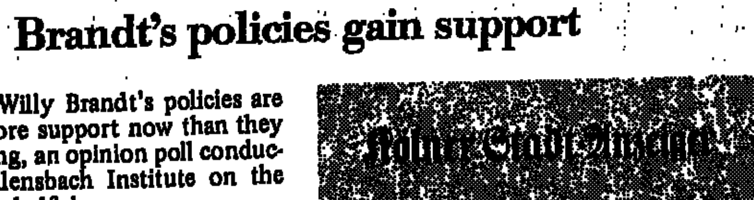
As can be seen, both the Bundestag and Bundesrat are not concerned about working to the exclusion of the public: They aim to rouse the interest of broad sections of the population in parliamentary work and help people understand the meaning of democracy.

Iliana v. Koscielski

(Das Parlament, 18 September 1971)

Visitors in the public gallery of the Bundestag listening to the official guide describing the Bundestag's work (Photo: Peter Strack)

Brandt's policies gain support



Chancellor Willy Brandt's policies are finding more support now than they did in the spring, an opinion poll conducted by the Allensbach Institute on the government's behalf shows.

When asked whether they were on the whole satisfied or dissatisfied with Chancellor Brandt's policies, 47 per cent of the interviewed sample answered that they were satisfied.

Thirty-two per cent said they were not satisfied while 21 per cent were don't-knows. The survey, covering two thousand people in West Germany and West Berlin, was conducted between 27 August and 6 September this year.

The results show that the number of people supporting Willy Brandt's policies has grown noticeably since the spring. The number of people who are not satisfied did not fall but there was a clear decrease in the number of dont't-knows.

In May and June this year 38 per cent of the population said they supported Willy Brandt's policies (the figure for June alone was 46 per cent) while 31 per cent were opposed to them (June figure 28 per cent). The number of don't-knows made up 31 per cent in the May and June survey while the figure for June alone was 26 per cent.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 September 1971)

Bundestag Scientific Service analyses the data of current members

Adolf Scheu, 64, an economic adviser from Wuppertal, has more children than any of the other 517 members of the Bundestag in Bonn.

With his eleven offspring Socical Democrat Scheu heads the list of all 390 mothers and fathers belonging to the three political parties there. Only 37 of the members are still single.

This item of information can be found in a survey of the composition of the Bundestag that has just been completed. Issued by the Bundestag's Scientific Service, it examines the composition of every Bundestag since 1949.

Most of the Bundestag members under forty belong to the Social Democrats out of a total squad of 237 are still in their thirties.

Twenty-six of the 250 CDU/CSU members are also under forty but only one of the 31 Free Democrats comes into this category. The youngest person in the Bundestag is a member of the Opposition – Dieter Schulte is only thirty.

Most of the members of the Bundestag, 443 to be exact, are in the 40 to 65 age range. Only 27 are above 65.

Information on the religious composition of the Bundestag is incomplete. Eleven Free Democrats and 144 Social Democrats refused to give the analysts information as they claimed that that sort of information should be private. The survey does however show that many of the Social Democrats do not belong to any Church.

The survey shows that 158 of teh CDU/CSU members are Catholic and 92 Protestant. Twenty-six of the Social Democrat members of the Bundestag stated that they were Catholic, 65 said they were Protestant while 144 gave no reply. Four of the Free Democrats are Catholic, sixteen Protestant and eleven refused to give any information.

Almost half the members of the Bundestag, 241 to be exact, have enjoyed further education. Twelve of this total are Free Democrats, 85 Social Democrats and



144 Christian Democrats or Christian Socialists.

Examining the education of members of the three parliamentary groups, it is found that five CDU/CSU and fourteen SPD members attended elementary school only.

Four CDU/CSU members, 22 Social Democrats and one Free Democrat attended intermediate school. Twenty-eight Free Democrats, 135 Social Democrats and 194 Christian Socialists passed their high school leaving examinations.

Two Free Democrats, 63 Social Democrats and 45 CDU/CSU members graduated from vocational colleges. Two CDU/CSU members and four Social Democrats refused to give any information on the subject.

(Die Welt, 13 September 1971)

THEATRE

Centre to commemorate the work of Erwin Piscator opened in West Berlin Academy

KielerNachrichten

A mood of resignation surrounded him towards the end of his life and there were valid reasons for this. The number of his supporters had shrunk and theatre criticism, based on absurd, poetic and classical drama, did not know what to make of his ideas.

He was accused of selecting plays more according to their powers of agitation than to their aesthetic content. The unhesitating way he interpreted texts as social criticism or calls for the class struggle roused much opposition, sometimes justified.

When he died in 1966 there were many people who claimed that he died as a man who had outlived his period and his views.

But a year later when the period of student unrest began and calls for a political street theatre and a new proletarian style were heard, Erwin Piscator's ideas would probably have been relevant once again.

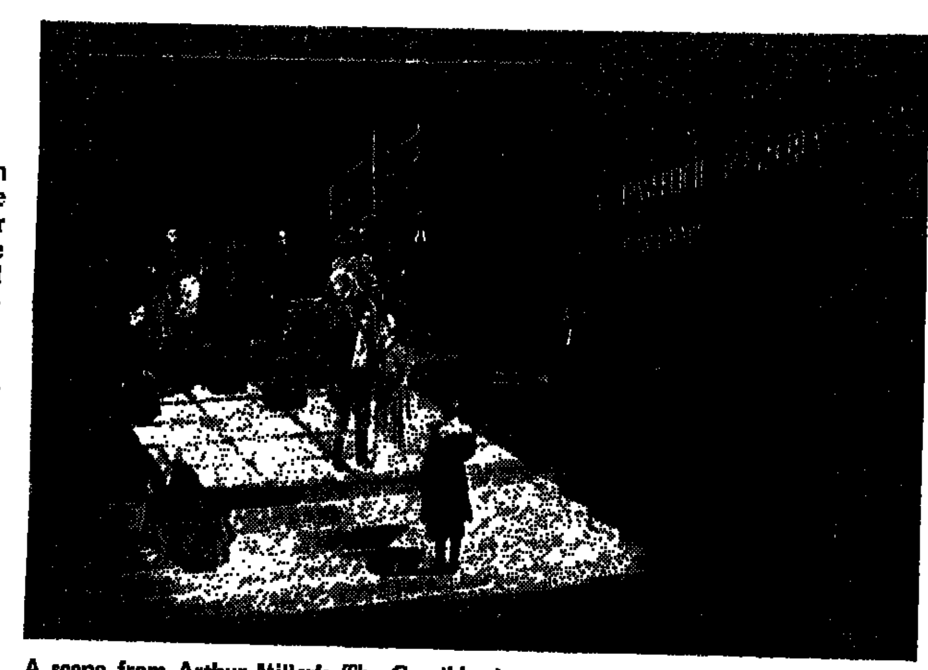
The old man could have passed on to the young the experiences he had at the beginning of the twenties with his Proletarian Theatre.

Five years after his death, in September 1971, an Erwin Piscator Centre was opened at the West Berlin Academy of Arts illustrating and documenting the life, work and legacy of this great man of the theatre. There is to be an Erwin Piscator Conference there in October.

Impressed by the exhibition, a number of Berlin critics are already referring to the rehabilitation of a revolutionary. In short, Piscator and his theatre are again being discussed.

A painting, number two in the exhibition catalogue, shows the portrait of Johannes Fischer, a professor of theology who Latinised his name to Piscator around 1600 when submitting a new translation of the Bible.

Erwin Piscator acknowledged explicitly the merits of his pious ancestor. Like Johannes Piscator trying to enlist people for his heavenly paradise, Erwin, returning home from the First World War an extreme pacifist and socialist, tried to



A scene from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible* that was produced by Erwin Piscator in Tübingen in 1954 (Photo: Katalog)

enlist people for a proletarian and socialist paradise, first in his Königsberg *Tribunal* and then in the dance halls and alehouses of Berlin with his Proletarian Theatre.

Proletarian Theatre lasted only two years because of the lack of proletarian interest but Piscator's talents as a director were seen for the first time.

Looking back, the next two years in which he headed Berlin's Central Theatre alongside Hans J. Rehfisch seem to be a preparation for his work at the Volksbühne where, from 1924 onwards, he produced plays by Paquet, Gorky, Zech, Rudolf Leonhard and Ehm Welk and met with rapidly growing approval.

His production of Schiller's *Räuber* was a sensation. Red Pis, as he was called at the time, had abriged the play drastically and brought it up to date. Franz Moor wore a jacket and bracers while Spiegelberg was clothed in a brown overcoat and bowler hat.

Critic Alfred Kerr wrote at the time: "Even after such an error, Piscator remains one of the best producers in Germany."

Kerr's judgement is confirmed by the work done by Piscator in his own theatre on Nollendorfplatz because of the political element he introduced into Welk's *Gewitter über Gottland*.

His productions of Toller's *Hoppla, wir leben*, Mehring's *Kaufmann von Berlin* and a Schweik adaptation have entered the annals of theatre history because of the new techniques they introduced into the theatre.

Film was used along with projections, picture collages, scaffolding, a split stage, a revolving stage and other innovations for which the theatre has to thank Piscator.

The Dramatic Workshop he set up in New York in 1938 soon became the centre for the most advanced dramatists in North America. Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller learned the tools of their trade there and Marlon Brando, Tony Curtis, Harry Belafonte and the founders of the Living Theatre were all Piscator's pupils.

In 1947 Bertolt Brecht begged "Dear Pis" to come back to Berlin. Piscator declined and also rejected Friedrich Wolf's call to apply for the post of Intendant at the Volksbühne in East Berlin.

Only McCarthy's witchhunt against Communists ended his exile in America. He returned to Germany in 1951, worked at a number of theatres for the next eleven years and then in 1962 was offered the chance of running a theatre according to this own ideas when he was made head of West Berlin's *Freie Volksbühne*.

There remains the question of which of his achievements have survived his death. The answer can be given without hesitation. British, Czech, Yugoslav and French producers claim to be influenced by him and Joan Littlewood and Peter Zadek have carried on from where he left off.

Hellmut Kotschenreuther

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 September 1971)

Nation-wide casting agency eases actors' employment problems

Courageous experiments and conventional-style plays that will always pull in an audience mark the beginning of the new season at the large publicly-owned theatres and the small private playhouses.

Unknown to the thousands of people who flock nightly through the doors of the auditorium, specialist departments at the Federal Labour Institute have provided theatres with an important service.

In recent years an agency network has quietly been set up to find work for artistes in the vast area between Graz, Zürich and Flensburg.

Frankfurt is the headquarters of the Federal Republic's branch of the Central Theatre, Television and Film Agency. Regional offices have also been set up in Hamburg, Berlin and Munich.

"The organisation is still being built up," said Horst Rauschenbusch, the head of the Hamburg branch, and his chief agent Werner Wolschina.

Past experience has shown, they say, that there is no need for the Federal Labour Institute to appoint any more State-employed agents.

Both consultations with the organisation's advisers and the provision of jobs are free.

But the agent does receive a graduated fee from the salary of the artistes he represents. He normally has a number of actors and opera-singers on his books. They will include prominent celebrities such as Curd Jürgens and Hildegard Knef and in acting circles the name of the agent is often as well-known as the names of the stars.

While respecting international agreements, the specialist departments of the Labour Institute might conceivably take over all agency work of this type.

In the last six months of 1970 alone some 38,700 engagements were the result of the Institute's work. About 1,750 of these engagements involved actors and singers for theatres, television or film companies. Musicians and bit-parts formed the bulk of the total.

If theatres in Flensburg, Lübeck or Cuxhaven have vacancies for the new

Lübecker Nachrichten

season they need only give details to the Hamburg branch of the service which is responsible for the whole of the North.

Chief agent Wolschina, himself a former opera-singer, then sets the wheels of the organisation in motion. Close cooperation with the Frankfurt headquarters means that there is a wide market in this field.

With a short period actors will be proposed to the administrative managers in Flensburg, Lübeck or Cuxhaven. They then come alone or with other members of the staff to Hamburg and work out details for the engagement.

The Hamburg branch of the service has a number of rooms suitable for auditions. In most cases the organisation pays the applicant's travel costs when he wants a theatre post. It often covers expenses where radio and television companies are involved as well.

Because of this broad and discriminating agency service theatre directors are no longer forced to travel around various theatres in the German-language area every spring in an attempt to engage new actors.

Of course the heads of the large State-run theatres whose work is normally connected with prominent celebrities will still have to make their own contacts but the number of these theatres is limited.

Joachim Redetzki

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 15 September 1971)

Live, says Oskar Kokoschka

Enjoy the massage of life! Prefer the beauty of a turbulent existence to the blessings of the welfare State, this most terrible of all terrible things," Oskar Kokoschka proclaimed in a press conference arranged in Munich by the Bruckmann publishing concern to mark the publication of the artist's memoirs.

"If it became too boring for me in Europe, I'd flee to the jungle even at my age. I hate nothing more than repetition," Kokoschka stated at the press conference which soon became a one-man show. This quote is only one of the examples of the artist's vitality.

Kokoschka denies being a humanist but agrees he is a friend of every single human being, especially his models. He came out time and again with the statement: "Youth interests me most of all – it is only among young people than I feel good!"

There then followed a broadside on the older generation, including the older generation in the field of art like the directors who suddenly paint and sculpt in Pop idiom just to be modern.

He no longer wants to be reminded of the book just published, *My Life*. "That is past," he says, "I've forgotten that a long time ago. The main thing now is to experience something new."

Asked whether he would write his memoirs in exactly the same way if he were to begin again, he replied promptly, "Not at all, I would write the exact opposite. Once – and never again!"

Acting as his own critic, he described the book as an affront that only wants to provoke opposition.

He reacted angrily to the question of whether he felt like an Expressionist. He described the term as elastic, stating that it could just as well be applied to Titian or Rembrandt.

"But I don't belong either to those artists who grew up with me," he added. "I was always a loner. I play at painting. Only twice in my life have I signed a contract. I am not the sort of man who works. Life is there to enjoy."

(Die Welt, 15 September 1971)

THINGS SEEN

Giuliano Vangi's paradoxical works at Recklinghausen

Rarely have we seen laughing so close to desperation, rarely worthiness so close to wretchedness, rarely so much passion in petrifaction as in the sculptures of the forty year-old Florentine artist Giuliano Vangi. His works live from this phenomenal integration of contrasts.

They combine naturalism with expression, realism with artificiality, truth with distortion – and all of these are carried to the extreme.

Vangi shows morbidity that is polished up to a high gloss, panic that is as highly stylised as a great drama; his magnificent pictorial works of failed and devastated creatures give us a sense of frivolous torture, arouse pity and repulsion.

The last time that such paradoxes were put across with such virtuosity in art was in the Baroque period. In fact there is a lot about Giuliano Vangi's work now on show in the Recklinghausen Kunsthalle that is reminiscent of the artistic media of the Baroque, not only the armless nude woman (1968) with her pale smooth skin, boldly curved contours and the elegance of Baroque madonnas.

There is also that naked human being stripped of all nobility in the ostentatious blue marble chair, who has obviously not yet grasped the finality of his situation.

Cast out like him are the men on the revolving base, while others, as in the works of Francis Bacon, are incarcerated in glass cases and others are like mummies wrapped in their own clothing. Their clothes are straitjackets from which faces expressing *Angst*, terror, madness and convulsions jut.

For Vangi these are means of deformation. He deforms his figures in other ways, too, for instance by putting heads that are much too big on small bodies, by robbing his figures of their arms or by making the transition between body and clothing amorphous or by flowing the figures into their bases.

Images of men? Contemporaries? We have seen Giuliano Vangi the sculptor before under these headings at exhibitions in Darmstadt and Recklinghausen.

There it was the horrific "Laughing Woman" who kept drawing attention to her terrible self; a young woman in a minidress splitting her sides with laughter. Bur her laugh was horrifically distorted, unreal, a piercing laughter – you have a sense of being able to hear it – laughter born of torture and despair. Or is it madness that speaks from her ecstatically convulsed eyes?

It is no longer this laughing woman alone that disturbs us – there are 26 sculptures by Giuliano Vangi at Recklinghausen. And we can confirm that the shock we felt at the laughing woman is not repeated here. For all these sculptures are more or less personifications of axaltation, of *Angst*, hysteria, helplessness and resignation, madness and misery.

The exhibition is more like a bitterly angry waxworks that is on the one hand trying to instil in us a sense of horror and on the other hand wants to awaken pity



Giuliano Vangi's *Figura Coperta*, 1963 (Photo: Katalog)

and disgust in us at the way the human being is mistreated, in the face of imprisoned people, perhaps who press their noses to a glass wall of their prison, their eyes sad, questioning, empty, dark; or in the face of the man "who climbs over the wall". He has an inquisitive, penetrating, starting and nevertheless decided gaze.

But there is also the naked woman without arms who has something lustful and challenging about her gaze and yet at the same time looks helplessly passive. We think like Rainer Maria Rilke of the woman with no arms who tries to embrace without arms and to hold without hands.

So manifold are the meanings of Vanghi's sculptures. They are puzzling and precipitous as mankind. He often gives them artificial eyes as "real" ones, as he gives them artificial teeth and real hair.

He works with all materials. His sculptures are in silver and painted wood, marble, bronze, ebony, painted aluminium and plexiglass.

Beside these Giuliano Vangi has created a number of excellent drawings (with pencil, coloured chalk, charcoal, watercolours, crayons, varnish paint, sepia and graphite) in which the themes of his sculptures are impressively repeated.

Eo Plunien

(Die Welt, 9 September 1971)

Frankfurt Book Fair will be the biggest ever staged

This year's Frankfurt Book Fair to be held from 14 to 19 October is already marked as the biggest from the point of view of the number of titles and the number of publishing houses represented.

According to the *Börsenverein*, the Association of the German Book Trade, 3,522 publishing houses from 58 different countries will be at Frankfurt with 241,000 titles of which 71,000 will be new publications. Last year 66 countries were represented, but only 3,300 publishing houses took part.

At this year's Fair 2,645 of the publishing houses taking part will be from abroad, more than 100 more foreign visitors than last year. For the first time publishers from Ethiopia and Afghanistan will be in Frankfurt.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 September 1971)

Friedrich Gräsel shows the artist at work

The title *Werkstatt II* (Workshop) suggests that labour is involved. And the exhibition in Leverkusen's Municipal Museum at Schloss Morsbroich was not "staged" to any great degree. Friedrich Gräsel, born 1927 in Bochum and who also works there as a sculptor and art teacher, is exhibiting his sculptures, functional drawings and graphic art, his concepts and his projects until 26 September.

Werkstatt mark I involved the Bochum Op artist Kuno Gonschior. Like it mark II does not shy away from giving the general public some work to do as well. It is not concerned with giving the public the ready saleable, beautiful result of artistic work. And this is despite the fact that Friedrich Gräsel has been giving exhibitions in north-west Germany for more than five years with some degree of regularity.

The point of *Werkstatt* is far more to give a documentation of the process of artistic creation and this time in conditions that are reminiscent of modern technological and industrial processes.

For some time now Friedrich Gräsel has ceased to work in a mansard studio and has moved his place of work to the factory floor of a modern industrial concern. His interest in industrial production processes is as old as his predilection for industrially pre-fabricated raw materials, tubes in all shapes and sizes.

In 1964 Friedrich Gräsel produced the first of his sculptures in clay from waste pipes. But these still contained a lot of what could be called art with the addition of much pleasing work and applications of fragments of clay and waste materials.

Then in 1965 he turned his attention completely to industrial products, manufactured Eternit tubes, and from these raw materials he made complete rounded objects. It was then that he arrived at his particular, quasi-industrial method of operation. He cut his mass-produced wares into lengths, placed them beside eash other and within each other with right angles, fashioned them into interlocking blocks and made rings and U-shapes.

However stereotyped these forms were the number of different combinations that Friedrich Gräsel consistently made of them was numerous. He could take a small T- or L- shape tube, mount it and make it into "dice" or make complete environments of it – "tube landscapes".

Alternatively he would translate the homogeneous individual sculpture into monumental form – whereby the "creative process" was dictated to him by the material and the size of the completed tubes – and would arrive with the major form at the definition and free arrangement of an area.

To complete the image of the artist Friedrich Gräsel there are his projects and models for the alteration of the environment, his sketches as projections of his work as a sculptor and a file of coloured silkscreen prints dating from 1970 of which only traces remain from his tube monuments.

For the image of the "worker" Friedrich Gräsel there is another aspect which *Werkstatt II* documents to an extensive degree, and certainly not just because of his fashionable sociological appeal.

There are, for example, the technically fertile work drawing – series of sections of tubes in cross section and projection – with dry notations of measurements and precise calculations of their connections.

Photos of teamwork in the firms where he is working show that an artist who bases his work on modern industrial processes is reliant on the help of the workmen. One of his working drawings carries the signature of the foreman alongside that of the artist. Which all goes to show that foremen and ordinary working people are thus part of the artistic creative process and learn – at least in Gräsel's case – that art can be quite a tangible thing.

Christiane Müller

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 September 1971)

Gräsel with some of his works (Photo: Werner Krüger)

■ CHILDREN

Toy lending library opened at Quickborn, Hamburg

Every afternoon between three and four o'clock on Tuesdays to Fridays there is a strikingly large number of children clutching toys around the small Schleswig-Holstein town of Quickborn.

They are on their way to the first *Spieliothek* in the world. This experiment with the rather high-falutin' title has been arranged by young parents so that children can play free of charge with good toys.

Books can be borrowed from a library, the organisers say, and toys from a Spieliothek.

The toy library is at present housed in a small room in the cellar of the town's Goetheschule. Children up to the age of twelve sit around on the large red carpet, examining what they have found on the shelves, playing with toy bulldozers and building-bricks and demanding explanations for anything they do not understand.

The toys are arranged on the available shelving according to suitable age range, type and play value. The supply ranges from dolls and cloth animals to beach toys, party games, games of skill, construction kits, chemistry sets, model cars and accessories.

Toys for the younger children are to be found on the lower shelves. The more complicated items are kept high up where only the older children can reach. If a child wants to borrow a doll's house, a toy grocery shop or an expensive construction kit he has to ask the adult in charge.

When a child has decided whether he wants a rabbit, robot or roller skates, he takes the items of his choice – every child is allowed up to three toys – to an old school desk, gives his name and address together with the date and items borrowed and can then leave to play happily with them at home.

Everything is free and the child is allowed to keep them for anything up to four weeks. Children in the Spieliothek are treated better than adults in a book lending library. They are not faced by the bureaucracy that demands identity card, receipt and date-stamp.

Three mothers and a young teacher take it in turns to work in the toy library, each of them taking care of the children once a week.

The children's reactions have been gratifying. When they come along at first they normally take a toy with which they are acquainted but are then gradually introduced to other toys by the children playing on the red carpet. Many of the children came every day during the first week.

About fifteen per cent of the items returned have to be repaired while dolls and teddy-bears are disinfected.

Trust replaces bureaucratic counting procedure when it comes to toys consisting of a number of parts. Only the expensive construction kits are subject to more thorough control. If any pieces of a jigsaw puzzle are missing, this is not of course noticed until the next borrower complains.

The expected response from parents was however disappointing. Children normally come alone and the adult in charge cannot always give the necessary instructions for reasons of time. Without the help of parents the main idea behind the scheme, to help children learn through play, can hardly be put into practice.

Dieter Meiners, like the other organisers a Young Socialist and a member of the Quickborn pre-school education group, sees two reasons for the inadequate cooperation of parents.

"There was probably too much of a din there," he says. "We were unable at first to bother much about mothers." The concrete walls of the room do indeed amplify the noise made by the children.

He sees the second reason for the parents' hesitation in the close link between the Spieliothek and the political commitment of its organisers.

It seems to be here that the reason for the none too forthcoming generosity of traders and manufacturers lies.

The idea to establish the first toy library in the world in Quickborn was conceived last December by the Young Socialists and had been put into practice by May with the help of two thousand Marks received for the election campaign.

Newspaper advertisements calling for gifts or donations met with poor response. Pamphlets sent to all Quickborn households brought more success.

The Young Socialists collected four cars full of toys, repaired and painted them, organised an exhibition of all gifts and donations, invited parents and together with experts explained the value of various items.

The local council finally gave its permission for the organisers to use the school cellar as a lending room shortly before Whitsun – the last obstacle had been taken!

If the Spieliothek is to be turned into a permanent feature more good toys have to be made available. There is usually only one toy of each type; this becomes noticeable when children want to borrow the same things as their friends.

The young organisers, including a number of teachers, have proved that Young Socialists can do more than talk and theorise. They were also honest enough to admit the mistakes of the past and separate the Spieliothek from party work.

Financial backing will be given in future by a Play Association whose members will have to pay a monthly fee of one Mark. Most of the members will be recruited from the pre-school education group.

Karin [illegible]

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 11 September 1971)

High school for the deaf opens in Hamburg

Deaf children in the Federal Republic can now for the first time obtain the necessary qualifications to attend university.

At the beginning of the new school year a high school for the deaf was opened in Hamburg. Children attending the school will be able to take their school-leaving examinations after [illegible] years.

The only entry qualification for the high school is the *Mittlere Reife*, corresponding to ordinary levels in Britain, that deaf children in Hamburg can take in the secondary stream at the State School for the Deaf that was set up in the city a long time ago.

The new school is also open to children from throughout the Federal Republic provided they have the *Mittlere Reife*.

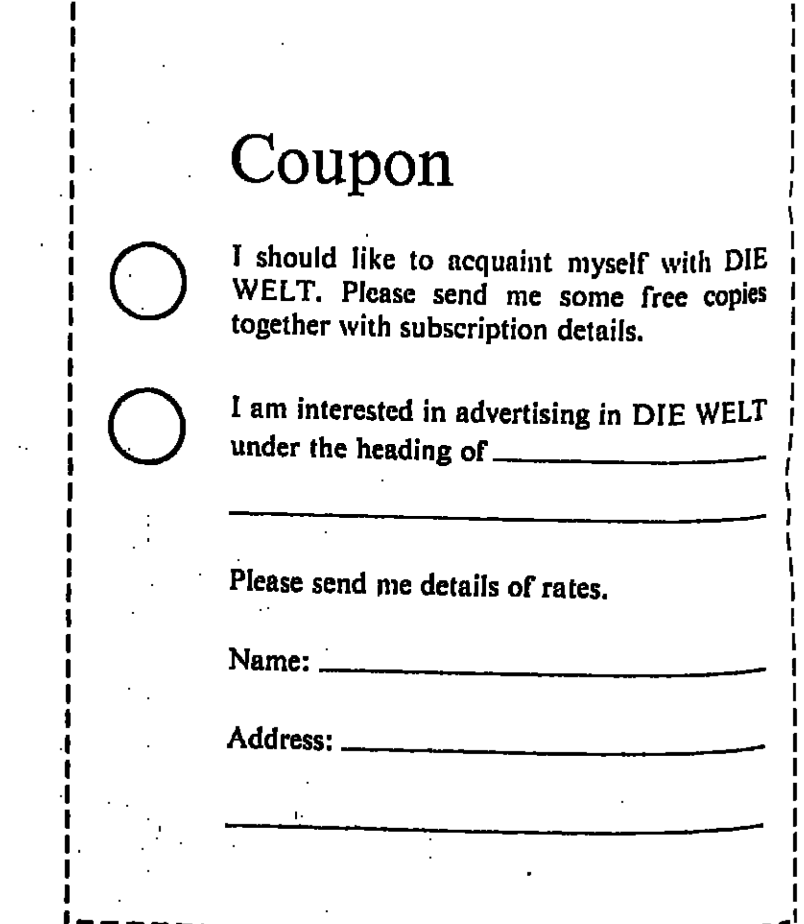
(Münchner Merkur, 26 August 1971)

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■ GEODETICS

Surveying plays an important role in solving the problems of our over-populated world

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The most people normally know about geodesists is that they occasionally hold up traffic with red and white striped poles. But they do have an illustrious tradition and their science has been in high repute ever since antiquity.

Geodesy has always been closest to mathematics though measuring the Earth was and is much more than a purely mathematical problem.

It is therefore no surprise that the four thousand or so delegates at the 56th German Geodesists Congress and XIII International Congress of Surveying Engineers held concurrently in Wiesbaden were swamped by a rich and well-organised agenda.

Apart from scientific information the main concern of delegates was to present a contemporary image of their profession.

The XIII International Congress of Surveying Engineers was the first to be held in this country since the organising body, the Fédération Internationale des Géomètres, was set up in 1878.

The reason for it being held here this year was the hundredth anniversary of the German Surveying Association, the only association catering for all geodetic specialists.

There were of course speeches including an exhaustive general talk by Science Minister Hans Leussink on the role of science in human society. There were also official gatherings looking back proudly on the past but there was no complacency.

Time and again it became clear that the great strides forward being made by *technology demand* from surveyors and geodesists a new understanding of their profession.

As the president of the international body, Professor Heinz Draheim of Karlsruhe, stated, the times when a surveyor knew everything about his subject are irrevocably past.

Geodesists must still act as middle-men between an exact science and bureaucratic authority. They have always had highly developed mathematical ability.

But now measuring the oddly-formed globe on which we live demands so much specialised knowledge that the traditional image of the surveyor's profession has to be modified.

Specialists have to be used in surveying now that satellites are used along with computers and other equipment on view at the *Geo 71* exhibition held concurrently with the two congresses.

Professor Draheim and others are organising inter-disciplinary work with architects, sociologists and geologists to make up for the loss in universal knowledge and extend the horizons of geodesy.

The need for inter-disciplinary cooperation was shown in a talk by Bernard John Collins of London on the surveyor's role in fashioning the world about him.

Collins pointed to the important role played by surveyors in preparing the way for important political decisions concerning urban development and rural matters. He recommended the course taken by his British colleagues who traditionally keep out of politics.

But even before the congress had begun Professor Draheim stated that political considerations sometimes so outweighed professional considerations that the surveyor responsible often has sleepless nights.

Another important field is marine geodetics which will provide the basic information required to turn the oceans into sources of raw materials. The seabed contains wealth that cannot yet be estimated.

"Dynamic" measuring grids will have to be used as the link between fixed points on the sea-bed and on land or in the air will be via a number of stations situated on the surface of the ocean where exact positioning is not possible because of drift. That is, positioning is not accurate enough for geodesists with their passion for measurements to the nearest millimetre.

Theodolites, the good old surveying instruments whose history can be traced in Wiesbaden Museum, are no longer of use in projects of this type.

Micro-wave measuring devices are also being used more and more in land surveying which is still the bread and butter work of geodesists.

Radar programmes are gaining in importance along with photogrammetric methods. Laser beams are now well-known throughout the world. The smaller the Earth becomes for Mankind, the more painstakingly it has to be measured out.

Norbert Ely

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 September 1971)

Palaeontologists suspect that life came from outer space

Recent research has begun to question whether life did in fact originate on the Earth itself. Palaeontologist H.D. Pflug of Giessen University believes that life could be older than our planet and that life on Earth developed from extraterrestrial forms.

Even the oldest sediment rock known on Earth contains evidence of life. Scientists studying 3,500 million-year-old rocks in the Transvaal found the remains of relatively highly developed unicellular life something like the cyanophyceas algae still existing today.

That means that life capable of photosynthesis existed almost 3,500 million years ago. Life itself must be older despite the fact that the Transvaal rocks form one of the earlier strata on the Earth's crust, if not the oldest.

If relatively highly developed forms were to be found in early sediment, the



question must be asked when and where the most primitive forms of life and its preliminary stages developed. Pflug believes that life could be older than the Earth's crust or the Earth itself.

This lends support to theories that the Earth was once colonised by extraterrestrial forms of life. Organic remains have been found in certain types of meteorites called chondrites. Primeval forms of life could have been introduced to the Earth via these meteorites.

The spread of primeval algae on the newly formed Earth crust or the Pre-Cambrian seas must have been restricted by a number of factors or else the original atmosphere could not have been oxygen-free as is commonly supposed.

Pflug reckons that if a kilogram of these blue algae had been allowed to reproduce unlimitedly all the oceans would have been covered by them within two months and the amount of oxygen produced during this period by photosynthesis would have corresponded to the amount found in the atmosphere today.

There were blue algae 3,500 million years ago but there was still little oxygen in the atmosphere 2,000 million years ago. Pflug believes that the oxygen produced by the blue algae could have combined with substances dissolved in the sea water, especially low oxydised iron.

He believes that iron-consuming bacteria absorbed the oxygen produced by the blue algae, oxydising the iron and gaining vital energy.

The precipitate with its high iron content then enriched the seabed with its high silica content, forming the rich ore strata to be found throughout the world.

Remarkably enough, life did not develop beyond the state of miscroscopic algae for the next thousand million years or more. Only 2,000 million years ago was the atmosphere enriched with enough oxygen to offer protection against dangerous ultraviolet radiation.

The first organisms containing nuclei originated 1,200 million years ago. Until about 700 million years ago there were as far as we know today no life that was any more highly developed than algae or protozoa.

But by about 570 million years ago nearly all species of the animal world existed in relatively highly organised forms. The animal world developed from its most primitive ancestors in this period of between 100 and 150 million years.

Discoveries have recently been made in rocks of the Ediacarian formation (named after Ediacara in South Australia) that the development of multicellular animals did begin in this period.

Martin Urban

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 September 1971)

Researchers survey the Atlantic

The West German Hydrographic Institute of Hamburg, the Federal Institute for Geological Research in Hanover and the geodetic department of Brunswick Technical University intend to take topographic, gravimetric and magnetic measurements in the North Atlantic between Iceland, Greenland and Jan Mayen on three research expeditions in 1971, 1972 and 1973.

The project is being backed financially by this country's Research Association.

The topographic survey will also measure depths in this area of the Atlantic for inclusion on fishery and marine charts and the General Ocean Depths Map.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 September 1971)

■ FINANCE

Europe can show the world how to deal with currency problems

The question of whether currency exchange rates should be allowed to float or if the margin for fluctation of fixed parities should be widened is being discussed everywhere in the Western world. Unfortunately in the Federal Republic today, as is often the case, we are plagued by dogmatism, knowall attitudes and intolerance towards opinions that diverge from one's own. In the following article Ludwig Poullain seeks to reconcile the various standpoints. Poullain is the Chairman of the Board of the Westdeutsche Landesbank in Düsseldorf and President of the Deutscher Sparkasse und Giroverband.

Nothing is as unbending in the face of the stark truth as a well-rooted prejudice. And often the fanaticism of someone who holds the opposite point of view from oneself is a hindrance to progress rather than a help.

This is what dogs most discussions on currency policies since it is essential to fight bias and control fanaticism.

But the present situation is fraught with yet another complication – attitudes are changing and indeed to a great extent. Many people who up till yesterday – or shall we say up till 9 May – were categorically opposed to floating exchange rates have since then come to terms with the situation and even come to approve of the measure.

Meanwhile others who up till 9 May, when the Mark was floated, soberly considered such a move a valuable weapon are now beginning to change their minds about the value of the move.

A word of enlightenment is essential and as I was one of the keenest champions of floating currencies up till 9 May I am now obliged to add my share to the process of clarification.

Firstly we must recognise that today we are faced with quite different problems from those of early May. The Bonn government's decision to float was designed to remove the chains from a fettered Bundesbank, and to help protect the economy of this country from unwanted speculative cash from abroad.

This was something that had to be done post haste and there simply was not time to sit back, relax and calmly contemplate the best interests of our economic partners.

The decision to remove temporarily at least one of the most important pillars of our monetary system, the fixed rate of exchange was easier to make than it otherwise might have been, since the whole system needed an overhaul anyway. It no longer served its purpose of keeping the international flow of monies in order.

Today, however, we are not concerned with a unilateral, short-term protective measure, within a rotting system, but with two fundamental world currency policy decisions, firstly concerning the monetary future of Europe and secondly about the principles by which the world's currency situation is to be built up in years to come.

Both of these current problems weigh heavily and in both cases a solution must be found which will have historical dimensions. The structure of the currency setup in Europe should work towards the goal of a currency union of the Six or possibly the seven, or ten. And the aim of the world currency setup should be to avoid protectionism or economic dictatorship. It should also lead to further integration of national economies, guarantee stability and solidity and do everything to avoid currency crises.

Therefore it is understandable that all the countries concerned are hoping that the new setup will relieve difficulties which they face in ordinary everyday dealings far removed from the major currency crisis which make headlines.

For instance the developing countries are hoping that the currency discussions will lead to the creation of special drawing rights – and they are not alone in this respect. The Americans are hoping that the price of gold will be kept steady while the South Africans and the French on the other hand hope that the yellow metal will go up in price.

The Italians and the French are hoping that the EEC agricultural market will be re-established and given protection through foreign trade. As for the West Germans – their great hope is that they will be protected once and for all from inflation.

Perhaps with all these divergent kinds of self-interest it is vain to hope that there will be a new order better than the old, and to take steps to bring this into being.

But perhaps optimism of this kind is more acceptable the less likely it is that illusions are behind it and the more successfully it has come through the testbed of trial by pessimism.

For a number of reasons, anyway, in connection with the history of Europe and its future I feel that the Continent will go through a process of political and economic unification.

And for the same reasons I consider it essential the European monies, at least those of the EEC countries, be put through a process of realignment in a concerted action and a minimum of flexibility be maintained for as long as the national finance, economic and industrial policies are not sufficiently adjusted to one another.

In this respect the Benelux countries are showing the way to the rest of Europe and much of their ideal setup is well worthy of imitation.

Since the Federal Republic has a major responsibility in Europe on account of its economic size and potential it should agree to do without floating currencies within the EEC.

On the contrary this country should use the floating system as a pledge in order to win over partners who are steering divergent courses and get them to make concessions in the alignment of their economic policies.

But the Federal Republic must beware of giving the impression that it will keep total floating as general dogma for all time. A tactical manoeuvre is not only permitted, but is advisable; however, a misunderstanding on the part of one of our economic partners over what is "essential" about the German position and what is tactical could have fatal consequences.

And in the end there should be no more squabbling about whether the EEC must at some time work towards basic regulations to create a new order.

One thing that our EEC allies and other countries who will be joining the Six later must keep in mind is that for the West Germans one thing is "essential": rates of inflation, such as are flourishing in many countries at the moment are not acceptable. And that includes the rate prevailing in this country at present as well.

Thus the other countries can only expect us to make great changes in the attitude we strike up in negotiations if they too are prepared to work towards greater harmony. We will be able to judge the skills of politicians on both sides by observing whether they simply "let the other man come forward" or whether they encourage him to do so by making a move themselves.

The solution of the world currency problem would be simpler if the EEC problem could be solved satisfactorily. And this is not only because the Six have an important voice in the Group of Ten but because the EEC solution will of necessity contain certain ideal elements which will give a good example to the rest – even if watered down – and which could be built into the new world currency setup.

Quite independently of this, however, what applies to the internal structure of EEC currencies should also apply admirably to the Common Market's monetary relationship with the outside world. A communal agreed flexibility of the EEC bloc towards the outside world as its economies must be a definite component of a new currency arrangement.

The better this flexibility is to protect us from being infected by inflation from outside and the better policies within the EEC are harmonised, the less the flexibility of exchange rates between EEC currencies will be.

There is one consoling factor: Europe needs France and the Federal Republic. There will only ever be a "Europe" with both of these countries or no Europe at all.

So it is already clear that the concrete result of the present currency debates and those in the future will bear the handwriting of the country with the most convincing arguments and the best political tactics. For precisely this reason we must beware of undermining our arguments with tactical mistakes.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 September 1971)

Group of Ten only sounded out each other in London

When a country devalues or revalues its currency the prior battle which often lasts for months is, in our experience, a procedure packed with drama, hotly contested by economists and from the domestic policy viewpoint a test of the breaking point.

But such a national debate about a possible change to parity is like a holiday weekend compared to the Herculean labours of trying to find a new exchange relationship for the currencies of the ten leading nons Communist industrial nations. This may involve five, six or even seven currencies upvaluing and the dollar being devalued.

Thus nobody could have expected that the first attempt to make such a move in postwar history would be over in a trice. There was little possibility of completing the work in the day and a half The Group of Ten had at their London conference.

And anybody who thought that a reformed world currency system would be the outcome of the conference, in which the refixing of parities would only be the first of three important building blocks, was deluding himself – no such reformed system rose Phoenix-like from the ashes.

Therefore it is quite wrong to speak of disappointment as the outcome of the highly vague and non-binding statements made by economies ministers in connection with the meeting in London.

With such complicated material to be handled it could only possibly have been a matter of the first preparatory groping in the dark, or if you prefer, the first exchange of speculative blows.

For the EEC countries it was mainly a question of gauging the market value of their joint resolution, which was just a few days old. The wanted to sound out how deep the regression to protectionism is in the United States, or to express it more euphemistically how intensive "the regard for the national interests of the United States is at present in Anerica".

Above all it was important to hear what the Americans had to say in response to the EEC suggestion that the dollar should be devalued, and how they would react to the proposal that other Group of Ten members should revalue if the Americans would drop their import surcharge before a real trade war develops. There was no precise answer to these queries.

The agreement reached by the Common Market countries on the basics of a realignment of currencies in the world is a mighty step forward. But there is no sense in closing our eyes to the fact that with the formation of a European phalanx the ballast of prestige, which has done so much to make matters more difficult than they would otherwise have been, has just been increased.

The Americans will not have failed to notice the triumphant headlines in French newspapers proclaiming that now the dollar faces a united front. Other countries and their press have been less extravagant in their evaluation of the situation, but how ever the situation is twisted and turned the fact remains that the United States and Europe are locked in their most bitter economic and hence political dispute for many years.

As far as currency policies are concerned President Nixon has manoeuvred his country into a position of isolation.

This is not changed by the consoling résumé by the Canadian leader of the conference, Mr Benson, after the first day of the meeting in London when he said that the negotiations had been carried out in an atmosphere of willingness to cooperate.

There can only really be talk of actual cooperation if the United States is prepared to accept that burden sharing is its responsibility too. And if the Americans are prepared to take their share of the international shouldering of burdens essential for clearing up the parities mess and relaxing the general trade policy climate.

There was no sign of their being prepared to do so in the statements made by John Connally, their Secretary of State for the Treasury.

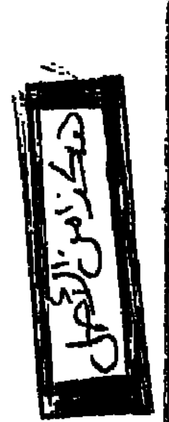
Thus London left the main problem unsolved and the solution to the mess still appears shrouded in mists. There is no sign of the mists clearing before the next Group of Ten conference and meeting to discuss the world currency situation despite the International Monetary Fund four-stage plan put forward in London.

So, what next? It is still the job of the EEC countries to unravel the knot on the European side. The basic rules that the Europeans drew up in Brussels must be obeyed in the first place by themselves.

Then the USA may be prepared to listen with a more open mind to the European bloc.

Bert Hagelstein

(Handelsblatt, 17 September 1971)



■ AUTOMOBILES

Kurt Lotz resigns from Volkswagen chairmanship

Kurt Lotz, since May 1968 the Chairman of the Volkswagen Board, is leaving Wolfsburg. His career, which went from strength to strength saw him formerly at the head of Brown-Boveri, and when he moved to Volkswagen to take over from Professor Heinz Nordhoff great things were forecast. Now he has resigned.

The fall of the ambitious Lotz, there is no doubt, will be celebrated by many in and around Wolfsburg as a victory. It must have been obvious to Professor Nordhoff's successor from the word go that as an outsider he would not only be surrounded by friendly faces.

It must be seen as part of his reason for resigning that he underestimated his opponents, considered himself too firmly in the saddle to be unseated, and did not have the right talents to deal with the chicanery he came up against.

But what really brought about Lotz' downfall? Was it political intrigue, was he ill-fortuned, was it a series of mistakes in personnel management – the thing that a Chairman must excel at above all others – was it the arguments about the duties of leading members of the staff or was it mistakes in business management and production policies, despite the fact that the presidium of the supervisory board had shown itself to be right behind Lotz on these matters?

One version will be favoured here, another there, and in the end the banal conclusion will be that it was a combination of circumstances.

For those who have been following in the past few weeks how the greatest West German concern has been struggling with its leadership crisis and how the colossus *Volkswagenwerk*, which cannot ever be accused of taking things too lightly, could not conceal its weaknesses from the outside, many people rubbed their hands with glee at all the unfavourable reports from Wolfsburg, they will, now that Kurt Lotz has resigned, be asking the question how far can the troubles be blamed on him or any other person and how far are they a result of material defects and artificially created institutions.

Large concerns are organisns that are kept alive and active by complicated circulatory and nervous systems. Size means immobility and here the parallel to nature applies as well.

Volkswagenwerk has inherited handicaps. Whoever is its leader has to cope with the great mass of the concern and must reckon on a great degree of friction. A comparison between the problems of Volkswagen and Ruhrkohle shows merely that mere size in a company is not necessarily a blessing and may be a curse.

Another similarity between Volkswagen and Ruhrkohle is that their structure as companies producing one product, which both of them were until recently, makes them vulnerable.

Scarcely any other company of comparable size is affected in its daily decisions to such an extent by the state of the market.

The lack of any mechanism within the company to take the sting out of risks requires of the company chiefs business skills which do not grow on trees.

The fact that Kurt Lotz did not follow in the footsteps of Professor Nordhoff, when it came to a policy concerning Volkswagen models and broaden the scope of VW cars is the least reason for reproaching him.

But even with this new policy it was soon clear that this giant of this branch of the economy did not understand how to get by with the means at his disposal. It seems that the profitable conversion of the brilliant idea of Professor Porsche in constructing the beetle had crippled the creative initiative of Volkswagen from the outset.

Now at a time of great uncertainty on Volkswagen's major market, the United States, we can see clearly that the giant is plagued with weakness.

It is like Ruhrkohle dependent on the success of one single product got years to come.

The fact that *Volkswagenwerk* lacks tight management is not a bolt from the blue or an act of God, but – and this is the third parallel to Ruhrkohle – the inevitable consequence of the construction of a company in such a way that it is difficult to see where responsibilities lie.

The present status of Volkswagen as a State company that has been handed back to private ownership but in which the central government and the Federal state of Lower Saxony have retained major interests is not suited to giving the management the required degree of private economic power.

A supervisory board in which all possible interests are given a say, in which the trades unions pursue their own aims as much as political parties and the Bonn and Hanover governments, plague with calculated indiscretions, cannot carry out its functions under the company laws in such a way as to fulfill the best interests of the company.

The result of all this is that clear guidelines as to who does what and who is responsible for what are blurred and the nightmare of complete anarchy in the leadership of the company threatens to become a fact.

The Laocoon complex from which Volkswagen is suffering every bit as much as Ruhrkohle cannot be swept away simply by placing a new man at Kurt Lotz's desk.

Gerold Lingnau

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 September 1971)

The history of an industrial giant

1934: Hitler commissions Ferdinand Porsche to develop a car for the people. The cost of the development project was 30 million Reichsmark.

26 May 1938: Hitler lays the foundation stone of the Volkswagen works near Fallersleben.

1 August 1938: The National Socialist organisation *Kraft durch Freude* takes over the VW project. Head of the Labour Front Dr Robert Ley announced the aim of the production programme: at the outset 150,000 cars per year, later 1,500,000.

1940–1945: The VW works produces 50,000 jeeps and 15,000 amphibians.

1945: The factory destroyed by air raids is taken over by the British as an asset of the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (Labour Front). In June 1945 the area in which the factory stands is given the name Wolfsburg.

Annual production 1945: 1,785 cars
Annual production 1946: 10,020 cars
Annual production 1947: 8,987 cars

VW management on 1 July 1971 – from the left, chairman of the supervisory board Dr Josef Rust, board member Dr Ludwig Poullain, retiring managing director Kurt Lotz and Otto Brenner, deputy chairman of the supervisory board.

(Photo: AP, Rudi Herzog)

2 January 1948: Heinrich Nordhoff takes over a head of the works.

7 October 1948: *Hilfsgemeinschaft ehemaliger VW Sparer* (Benefit society for former VW investors) founded.

8 October 1948: Allies hand over the factory to the Federal government on a trust basis transferred by the supervisors to the Lower Saxony state government.

Annual production 1949: 105,482 cars. Production of the VW transporter commences. **4 March 1950:** 100,000th Volkswagen since War's end rolls off the production line.

Annual production 1951: 105,482 cars.

21 September 1951: The quarter-million mark is passed.

23 March 1953: Volkswagen do Brasil S.A. founded.

3 July 1953: Half a million!

1954: For the first time the company's turnover (today 14 milliard Marks) passes the milliard-Mark level. From this year on employees are paid an incentive bonus.

14 July 1955: A new car is built in conjunction with the Karmann company, the VW-Karmann-Ghia coupé.

5 August 1955: The millionth beetle rolls off the production line.

27 October 1955: In Englewodd Cliffs NJ "Volkswagen of America Inc." is set up to take care of the company's American market and as a sales organisation.

Annual production 1957: 472,554 vehicles of which 380,561 are cars.

22 August 1960: *Volkswagenwerk GmbH*, a limited company becomes an *Aktiengesellschaft (AG)* or joint-stock company. Forty per cent of the capital remains with the Bonn and Lower Saxony governments, sixty per cent is issued as *Volksaktien* (people's shares, offered on preferential terms to people in receipt of relatively small incomes).

25 November 1960: Decision taken to found the Volkswagen Foundation for promotion of the sciences. Date fixed for April 1961. Capital to come from the proceeds of the sale of 360 million Marks (60 per cent) of Volkswagen shares.

16 January 1961: Sale of VW shares up till 15 March.

1 September 1961: The new VW 1500 is produced as a limousine and Karmann-Ghia coupé.

4 December 1961: The five-millionth VW to be produced since the War takes to the roads.

9 January 1962: Production begins on the VW Variant (shooting brake).

August 1963: A new model, the VW 1500S in limousine, Variant and coupé form.

1 December 1964: Beginning of production at the new VW plant in Emden. For the first time the Volkswagen AG payroll climbs above the milliard-Mark level.

5 January 1965: VW takes over Auto Union GmbH from Daimler-Benz.

15 September 1965: Ten millionth VW since the War!

June 1966: The *Volkswagenwerk* and Daimler-Benz AG form jointly the *Deutsche Automibilgesellschaft mbH* with headquarters in Hannover.

1 May 1968: Dr Kurt Lotz takes over as Chairman of the Board.

21 August 1969: Audi and NSU merge to form Audi NSU Auto Union AG. With Auto Union joining the two other motor firms Volkswagen finishes with a 59.5 per cent share of this concern.

Summer 1970: The VW K70, constructed by NSU and brought into mass production by VW is introduced.

(Die Welt, 14 September 1971)

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